valiant. At some of these drinking parties they add the refinement of asking four of the company to dance. These, after [67] smearing themselves with a watery glue, cover themselves with down, which sticks to their flesh by means of this gum. Having entered into the place of the debauch, each of them is presented with a large gourd full of ouicou which he must drink. If one cannot down it all, the others squeeze his belly until he vomits what he has taken. Then he drinks the rest, and dances afterwards.

574 They hold one sort of feast which seems to have a little virtue and humanity also. When they have caught a tortoise or other fish of note they invite one of their relatives or friends to come eat part of it. When the guest arrives, the person responsible for receiving him hangs a hammock for him (note that their custom is to put a member of the household in charge of receiving visitors), and invites him to sit on it, which he does without saying a word. Then the women bring him cassava on a matoutou (if the cassava is spread out it means that he eats what he wants and then takes what is left with him; if it is folded, it means that having eaten his full, he leaves the rest) or meat or ouicou. The husband of the woman who serves him says: 'Here is some cassava or ouicou for you.' The other replies: yao, 'good' (this is their: thank you). While he is eating no one interrupts him, and only the one who invited him or the one who received him speaks to him. Having eaten, he says: 'Here is your matoutou, here is your coui' [calabash dish].' The other has it taken away and goes to all the men present. 'Let us,' he says, 'greet him.' All go to do so, one after another. The women scarcely participate in this, and only say: keléatibou [chileátibou] (1), 'have you come?' After that they chat and drink together. They lift their glass, saying: 'to you'— and the other answers: yao, 'good.'

1. According to Moreau de Jonnès, who visited the Caribs of Saint Vincent, this expression means: 'welcome.'

They practice those ceremonies for all unexpected visitors, except that they do not hang beds except for the most notable. The latter's hair is oiled and cared for by the women both as he enters and as

574 he leaves. They observe some of these ceremonies for Father Raymond when he goes to see them.

[68]

CHAPTER X

Their Commerce

439 They trade with everyone with whom they are at peace. But their trading does not involve much of value, and they do not ask for much. When they come to see us they bring tortoises, pigs, chickens, parrots, fish, pineapples, cotton hammocks and other works of theirs. In exchange we give them axes, bill-hooks, knives, cloth to make sails for their pirogues, glass beads, crystals, and other begat elles. When they have more of these tools than they need, they carry them to other Caribs of the islands or mainland and exchange them for caracolis, green stones (which are good against serious illness), or other similar things. That is the extent of their commerce or trade.

[77] Previously, when they had no commerce with the Europeans, they used stone axes and knives. They made their fish-hooks from scales of the tortoise, or, probably, from the border shell, which is harder than the other scales. One still sees these old instruments among them, although they no longer use them.

CHAPTER XI

Their War, Enemies and Weapons

624 [726] Our Caribs do not make war properly speaking, since they never fight a pitched battle but make surprise raids. Also, they hardly attack those who are on their guard unless they have a tremendous advantage in numbers. They have chiefs chosen from the most valiant and from those who have killed the most enemies. They do not choose young men, even if they are the sons of old chiefs. They choose mature and courageous men, whom they esteem a great deal while they still have all their strength, but to whom they no longer pay any attention when they become old. There are two at present

3. Feasts and Manners

572 The word compere [literally: pal] is in usage in all of the
177 islands where there are Caribs -- among the French when they trade with their Carib friends, and among the Caribs when they speak in French to those with whom they have become friends. A Frenchman gives his name to a Carib and the Carib gives his name to the Frenchman. Even if he does not give such a man his trade, at least he prefers him to others, and this does not fail to give him some profit. [320]

422 The Caribs have so few belongings that they are able to carry all of them with them, without having any desire to acquire more.
437 Thus when the Caribs have a tortoise which they want to exchange for a knife, they will not trade it if you should offer them two axes for it. The reason is that they have a need for the knife, although the axes are worth more. Our own possessions, although high-priced and scarce, would have no value among them. [291] The Caribs do not use terms for buying and selling. They ask without haggling and one gives the article to them for that which is offered without difficulty. [312]

511 The Caribs cannot fail to rank as church paupers, and to have the love of Jesus Christ, and to be accepted by the Kingdom of Heaven. For they possess neither gold nor silver and they have neither bag nor wallet, nor coat nor staff, and they do not even have the desire to obtain them. A hut to protect them from the elements satisfies their ambition. Tomali [tamale?] is their stew, and crabs are the
445 most delicate food that they have. Calabashes serve them for crockery, and baskets serve as chests. Earthen pots are used as kettles and
● 574 cauldrons. When they change islands and when they go to another
[264] carbet, drink and food are not refused them. They reciprocate equally to others in a similar situation, provided that the others do not arrive too late, for they save nothing for the following day. [316] The Caribs ask fearlessly, and give freely, when they have something. [273]

574 The Caribs have their accustomed civilities. One particular man
576 is in charge of receiving those who visit. He makes ready a hammock for them if they are important, or a stool if they are common, and has them sit. He summons a woman who carries to the guest a small wicker table which is laden with cassava and other things and it is set in front of him. Then the man in charge says, "My compere, this is for you to eat." The visitor replies with a thank you. If the cassava is unfolded

574 it signifies that all of it is intended for him, but if it is folded double
576 he understands that he should only eat at his discretion and should leave the rest. Others come over even if they have just finished their meal, and they share what they have brought. Because of friendship they eat again. The only trouble I had with them was when I refused to eat a second time. However, after I had explained to them our way of life they were no longer offended. I have not noticed
[264] that they have particular words for breakfast, dinner, and supper, although they eat meals regularly. [214]

When a Carib arrives at a carbet there is a man who is responsible for giving him a good reception. He shows the guest to a hammock, has food and drink carried to him, and entertains him. At the end of the meal the host goes to everyone and invites all to come and greet the visitor. The older men greet him first, and all the others after that, and the visitor responds. After this greeting they talk with him, for no one approaches him or interrupts him while he is eating. When the guest is ready to leave he goes before everyone present and says good-by to each one, and the others reply. [345]

When a captain has a drinking party or a banquet he choses a man who goes from carbet to carbet where he is well entertained, and when this man leaves he steps before his hosts and invites them to assemble and requests them to come to the feast. [266]

The boutámon is a small table which is covered with cassava and some meat, and which is presented to a visitor. [94] "To the health of my friend," replies the one for whom a toast has been given. One toast is not enough and a supplement is necessary, as they say in the islands. [353]

576 "Why does he call me my mother? I called him my father -- at least if he did not call me daughter he should call me sister." The Caribs don't call each other Mr. or Miss, etc. If they call you "father" you should reply "my son." Once, meeting Henri Comte, I said "Good morning my captain." Both he and the people with him laughed at me for a long time because of this greeting which is not customary among them. [97]

574 "Did you come?" This is the greeting that the women give each
576 other when they arrive in a house where there is one of their relatives or acquaintances whom they visit directly at their house. A seat is offered to them, and if they are old or well-liked they are offered a bed. Food and drink are presented. Nevertheless, they do not receive

574 576 the civilities which it is customary to render to men. If someone else greets them they respond with the women's greeting. [155]

When Caribs meet after a long period of absence from each other, they embrace each other impelled by reasons of joy or sadness. [516] Mutually resting their head on the shoulder of the other, each rests one knee on the ground. They begin a sad chant and go so far as to weep and sob, even continuing to weep for a long time after. This is especially true when the visitor arrives during a drinking party as I have seen happen at the arrival of a Balibi. [233]

302 When the Caribs go to feasts their women paint them red and wash their faces and wipe them. Then the women spread their fingers which are reddened with paint and press them on their husband's faces, which disguises their features so well that one has difficulty recognizing them. [298]

293 The skin of the jaguar has short, red hair. All the Caribs who have been to South America have such a skin. When they come to their feasts each carries his own in ostentation trailing it ten or twelve feet behind him, with the claws of the Mansfénix hawk arranged on two sticks across their backs. They believe that this communicates to them courage and valor. When they are gashed with the teeth of 752 an agouti and are bleeding they grind up the jaguar skin and rub the powder on the wound. This heals the wound very well without any inflammation or boils, even when they have been previously rubbed with pepper and pimento. [100]

785 I have seen young men at feasts stand in the middle of the carbet with their hands upon their heads allowing anyone to beat them with arrows, similar to blows given with the flat of a sword. I have seen others just after the greater part of their bodies had been gashed, who allowed people to rub them all over with the body of a Mansfénix together with a great deal of pepper which had been crushed between two rocks. God knows that they become hot after that. Others, not at the time of these drinking parties, stood up in the same place, and old women beat them with pineapples leaves which they hold by the points. With the spines they scratch them by dragging them across their bodies, for the pineapple leaves are like saws except that the spines are more treacherously sharp and pointed. All of this is designated by the term "He has passed by the lances." [132]

241 To clear land for a garden the Caribs have work parties. They cut off branches, pile up wood and leaves, and burn off the land in order to prepare it for planting. These work parties are organized in the following way. They have a drinking party in which all the strong men are requested to join in the work. Later that morning they fell a square patch of wood 100 to 200 feet on a side. The wood is knocked on the ground in disorder. They drink the rest of the day and the following night as payment. Six weeks later they set fire to the field at noon when the breeze blows. They set the fire on the side of the field to the wind, and the greater part of the refuse is burned. Then they hold another drinking party in order to pick up and complete what is left to be done. They hold work parties also in other situations and replace by this means the absence of servants and laborers which are unknown among them. [86]
At their feasts they eat as little as they drink much. [71]

● 574 When the Caribs have completed their tasks on a work party they have a drinking party where drink is served by the man who has sent for them. When they have drunk everything they go to their host and say "My friend, I leave. I have drunk all the drink which you have prepared in return for my labor. Good-by." [362]

273 [574] The Caribs do not prevent either men or women from becoming drunk. But they do not allow men to seduce other men's wives, while these women are drunk. [319]

The Caribs are so vile in their drunkenness that when they feel themselves to be too full they turn their head aside and often even without leaving their place in the company, they put their fingers into their mouths to bring up everything they had swallowed. [223]

627 Vengeance rules among the Caribs, but it is only carried out at their drinking parties. The offended person is careful to remain sober in order to better the success of his plan. He is not punished for his deed if he has done it to avenge the death of one of his relatives. But if he has unjustly killed a man, it will not fail to pass that sooner or later the relatives of the dead man will put him to death, unless the murderer quickly flees to another island. [370]

you cannot expect any mercy from them. When their treachery towards you misses the mark they will say in cold blood "Me no angry at you." Then they will deal with you as if nothing had happened, and as though they were your best friends.

5. Eating and Drinking

They are extremely filthy in their eating. If you could see them make their ofticou you would hold it in horror. Once, in the presence of our governor at dinner, one of them was sitting at a distance from a plate of food which appealed to his appetite. Climbing on the bench he put his foot between the dishes and extended his full length over the table. One foot was on the table where he had been eating and one arm supported his weight at the other end, and he reached for what he wanted. This is how these gentlemen behave! As for the remainder they are so proud that no matter who visits them they do not get up, but only point to a hammock and say "lie here." They very freely ask for everything which appeals to them, and are offended when you refuse. This is the reason why people who know the Caribs leave only those possessions in their houses which they are willing to give them when the Caribs are expected. The Caribs promise a great deal but they very often are unfaithful. They eat animals which do them harm such as chiggers, ticks, and similar vermin.

6. Warfare

The Caribs have small drinking parties in their carbets [men's houses] on various occasions (that is to say, assemblies in their great houses which are built especially for this purpose). Here they drink excessively and eat only a little. These gatherings last sometimes as long as eight to ten days. This would be the best time to attack them, for they are almost always drunk. After a ceremony of this kind they begin to deal with their affairs, especially warfare. The very oldest captains harangue them and are listened to with a marvelous silence. The decisions are followed by common consent, although no one has any authority as commander. The business of war commences ordinarily with great harangues or speeches and complaints by the old

276 the men. However it is considered by them to be a terrible crime to
75 take advantage sexually of a woman who is drunk. The women also
489 dance in a circle, each holding one hand on her head and the other on her buttocks, and neither jumping nor walking, they shake their feet. Although they exert themselves strenuously they actually traverse very little ground.

● 577 They have only one kind of feast which is respectable and decent. When a Carib has captured a tortoise or has made some other good catch, he invites one of his closest neighbors and gives him a good party. After eating well, the neighbor returns home very contented.

Despite the disorders of their debauches, they have at least the decency of never eating until they have invited all those who are in their company to do so. After sharing the meat it sometimes happens that there is nothing left for the man who gives the party. Because this [sharing] is their custom they often became angry at Father Raymond [Breton] who refused his share for fear he would be too much of a burden.

These assemblies are very frequent, and in Dominica there is one almost every week.

7. Food and Treatment of Visitors

264 There is nothing cruder among the Caribs than their eating habits; they are so dirty in everything connected with eating and drinking that it turns the stomach of everyone who sees them prepare it. I don't mention their ouicou and ordinary drink which is made by the gossiping old women chewing cassava, and whose mouths often stink like latrines. While eating they are not ashamed to belch, piss, and I dare not say more. They are not at all surprised to see in their food hair, straw, leaves, caterpillars, and all kinds of other filth. They have nothing good and clean except bread, which is cassava. They add pimento so strongly to everything they eat that they are the only people who can eat it.

262 As concerns the meats usually eaten, they do not correspond to the ones we are accustomed to in Europe. They only eat bourgaux [bugaus] which is a shellfish, crabs, tortoises, and several kinds of

262 fish both from rivers and from the sea. They never eat meat soup or other meat except a few birds which they throw into the fire without removing the feathers or entrails. When the feathers are almost singed off they take the birds out of the fire and smoke them and eat them. They don't eat milk, cheese, or butter and they hold eggs and oil in horror. This is said among them.

262 When they eat with us they are accustomed to eating our foods,
263 although there are some who are more scrupulous than the rest and don't wish to break their ancient customs. They don't use salt to season their food, and if they find grease they throw it out. They have only one common sauce made with fishheads and a large quantity of pimentos to which they add manioc water which loses its poison when it is boiled. They also add to the sauce mouchache which is obtained from manioc and is like the finest flour. They boil this attractive mixture. They dip their bread into it with much satisfaction and enjoyment, preferring it to the most exquisite meats.

264 Ordinarily they eat three times a day, but most of the time there is no rule for their meal and they eat when they are hungry and whenever they feel like it. The men eat separately in the great carbet. The women and small children eat in the small houses. They rest on their buttocks like monkeys sitting around a coui, which is half a calabash used like a dish, from which they eat all their food. Usually dogs and cats participate, but the children are careful to rap them on the muzzle with a stick when they rush in too quickly to the dish.

574 Among the Caribs there is always a deputy to welcome and take care of guests. When one of their friends comes to visit, this master of ceremonies brings him into the carbet and promptly hangs a hammock for him on which he tells him to sit. The guest does so immediately, maintaining his gravity and silence. Meanwhile everyone goes to some trouble to bring something to the newcomer. One woman brings him a drink, another bread, another crabs and fish or bouyaux [a kind of shellfish] and others bring similar things. When a guest is presented folded cassava it means he should eat only what is necessary for him. When it is presented to him unfolded it means that he should eat as much as he wishes and take the rest home with him. After eating and drinking well he says to his host "I am drunk." The master of ceremonies then brings everyone into the

574 carbet to welcome him. They greet him successively with the single word "haleatibou," which means 'welcome.' After this greeting he talks with everyone present and shares the food and drink left over from his meal with them. Then he says goodbye to everyone. They observe this politeness with everyone who visits them while taking a trip. If it is an old man or one well thought of, the women in addition paint him with urucu and grease his head with palmetto oil.

8. Ornaments

302 It is necessary to modify slightly my statement in the first paragraph of this book to the effect that the Caribs don't wear any clothes except the cover given them by nature. Actually they put on a beautiful scarlet suit every day which covers them as completely as their skin. However it does not prevent them from being seen naked. This scarlet garment is a kind of paint they call urucu which is blended with oil and dries up like the oil from flax or nuts. The women may paint the men every day, or when they go to public assemblies. They are always painted before undertaking a journey. The women give them, instead of a white shirt, a close fitting coat of this paint extending from the bottom of the feet to the top of the head. Several make this color more beautiful by adding black paint in the form of long twisted mustaches and circles around their eyes. Sometimes they paint black stripes all over their body. In this way they become as ugly and horrible in fact, as they are beautiful in their own belief.

Our missionaries who wear white habits profit little by wearing a new one among them. These often catch bits of Carib paint which is everywhere because the Caribs leave their mark every place they rub themselves or sit. Concerning this, I recall a Carib captain, newly painted, who had once been rather happily scolded by Mrs. Aubert, the wife of the governor of this island. He had sat on her bed which was covered with white fustian cloth, and he had left a good part of his leg paint on it. Mr. Aubert invited this Carib to sit at the table for dinner a short time later. This Carib hesitated because he would certainly redden the bench where he should sit. Upon seeing his plate which would be a kind of small stool if it had three legs,

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

were the first fruits of any feast. It was his duty to conduct the war council in one of the carbets; he also had charge of some of the entertainment there.

Two or more war chiefs usually participated in each raid, one of them being chosen head chief, but only for the period of the raid. The head chief sometimes assumed command of the fleet of canoes going on the raid, or he might delegate such command to a younger warrior. The owner of each canoe was leader of the men in his craft; he was called a boat chief and bailed instead of paddling.

It will be apparent that rank was not so well defined among the *Carib* as among the *Arawak*. Descent does not seem to have been important either; no mention of it has been found in the sources.[6] Men were prominent because of their military prowess, because of caracoli obtained from their ancestors, or because they were old and full of knowledge. There was a slave class composed of captive women, but their children were free.

It is said that during historic times murders were a common occurrence at the drinking bouts. They were avenged by the relatives of the dead person. In case of theft the aggrieved person slashed the shoulder of the thief with an agouti tooth, to mark the crime. The husband punished adultery by beating his wife to death with a club.

Etiquette.—Each carbet appointed a man to act as host. He provided the visitor with tobacco and a seat. Then the other men of the carbet, dressed in their best, introduced themselves and conversed with the visitor. There might be a banquet, at which everyone drank much. Special hammocks were always provided for visitors, and a woman was assigned to paint them and dress their hair in the morning. To show great friendship, the hosts exchanged names with their guests; in case of intimacy they exchanged presents.

If the cassava provided to a guest were folded, he could have only what he ate. If it were unfolded, however, he could take with him the remnants. The people usually ate in silence and without drinking. Only one man ordinarily spoke at a time; the other men hummed if they approved.

Economic organization.—Little is known of *Carib* economics. The people used rolls of tobacco as a monetary standard and obtained beads of crystal or greenstone from South America. Land and food products seem to have been held by the village in common. On the other hand, canoes and ornaments were personal property. It is not known how they were inherited.

[6] It has not been possible to substantiate the statement by Gosse (1932, p. 31) that descent was matrilineal.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

582 [161] Today, the Dominica Caribs' sexual selection is limited not only by the smallness of their community (about 400 including half-breeds: men, women, and children), but by a growing disapproval of marriage between close cousins, expressed in the usual way, by ridicule. Nevertheless, unions of a more or less permanent nature between first cousins, half and even full siblings, and of mother and daughter with the same man, have occurred and been tolerated within recent times. There appears to subsist the feeling, moreover, that cross-cousins are "less family" than parallel-cousins; and one old woman expounded to me the widespread belief in the genetic inheritance of father's "spirit" and mother's "blood." Sister exchange is not infrequent, while marriage of two brothers to two sisters is extraordinarily common. I know of at least two cases in which a man has children with his wife's unmarried sister; and I should estimate that polygyny (extra-legal, of course) in general is as frequent today as it ever was, being confined, as is natural, to better-than-average bread-winning males.

883 Once school is left behind (12 to 15 years of age), opportunities for anything but furtive meetings between the sexes are rare. The young men spend their days at sea, or working in the high-woods, while the girls, together with their mothers, work around the house, or plant, weed, and reap in provision-gardens scattered far and wide. Neighborly visiting is not common—partly because of petty inter-family feuds, and partly because local standards of hospitality require an exchange of presents between visitor and hostess every time a call is made. The monthly church mass at Salybia, occasional wakes and dances, and the young men's "serenale" on fine moonlit nights are about the only relaxations known. The latter is the name given to promenading bands who make the round of neighboring houses to the accompaniment of Basque tambourines and flutes.

● [574] [517] [533]

584 Should a young man call at the home of a prospective sweetheart (or of one whose relationship with him was unknown to her parents), he would not mention her, nor would she appear unless called in from the kitchen or back room by her mother or father. Should his visit coincide with a mealtime (at which even strangers present in the yard are always asked to participate), it would be a sure indication that his suit was acceptable, if the girl herself were sent to serve him food and drink. But in no case would either display any affection before others, although clumsy and to us coarse sexual jokes might not be out of place. No tasks are required of a girl's suitor today, though the old people say that former customs required him to limit his attentions to a bi-monthly visit for some time; and that it was his duty to sweep the yard before his sweetheart's house before leaving after these occasions.

[522]